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Africa - Slavery

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HOW WE COUNTENANCE SLAVERY.

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JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P.

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Pease, J. A.

“ The wretch that works and weeps without relief
Has one that notices his silent grief.
He from whose hands alone all power proceeds,
Ranks its abuse among the foulest deeds ;
Considers all injustice with a frown,
But marks the man that treads his fellow down.”

Cowper.

How we Countenance Slavery

IN

East African British Protectorates.

By JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P.

How we countenance Slavery. The fact suggested in this title is that Slavery is now countenanced by British rule. We boast as a nation that Britons never will be Slaves, and we pride ourselves that we have also emancipated every Slave in our own Colonies. The following pages will show how little we are really entitled to thus take credit to ourselves, and it is believed that the facts recorded below, will come as a surprise to many.

The statements, and articles also, which have appeared in the press in connection with the Slavery debate in the House of Commons, raised on the Supplementary Estimates on March 8th, 1895, indicate a general ignorance of the exact position and situation in our East African British Protectorates which is probably shared by the public, and is likely to mislead.

In 1861, through the arbitration of Lord Canning, Zanzibar was created an Independent State, and the first Sultan, MAJID, was appointed. The influence of Great Britain thereafter became predominant throughout the Sultan's dominions.

In 1890, by agreement with the ruler of Zanzibar, and under the same arrangement by which Heligoland was ceded to Germany, the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba came under the direct control of Her Majesty's Government.

Our successive Governments have, however, since then not taken any steps until quite recently to make themselves acquainted with either the extent of Slavery or the condition of the Slaves in the two Islands, and even at the present moment very little is really known.

It is understood that upon the Island of Pemba, the plantations are entirely worked by Slave labour, but there has never been a resident European Government representative. A Vice-Consul has, however, now been appointed, who is about to take up his residence there, and one of whose duties it will be immediately to report to the Home Government upon the present condition of the island population. On the other and larger Island, in the town of Zanzibar, reside representatives of various Powers, and some thirty Englishmen, several of whom hold responsible official positions; but throughout the rest of the island the situation is somewhat analogous to that which is believed to exist upon the Island of Pemba, and to consist largely of clove and cocoanut plantations, owned by Arabs and worked by Slave labour.

In 1844 the two Islands contained approximately a population of 451,000, of whom 800 were Arabs and 360,000 Slaves, the balance being Indians and freemen, since which date no census of Slaves has been taken, though repeated applications have been made to the Government with a view to place some check upon the increase of the Slave population by importation.

The Consular report, issued as a Parliamentary Paper in 1894, contains a comparison of revenues derived from the clove plantations in the years 1892 and 1893. In 1892 the income of Her Majesty's Government Custom House from this source was 462,260 rupees, and for 1893, 472,666 rupees. The exportation of cloves has risen, however, from 1,894,913 rupees in 1892, to 2,217,562 rupees in 1893; whilst copra has similarly risen from 967,611 rupees to 1,371,143 rupees.

Whilst complaint is made in the report that there is an insufficiency of labour, it would appear, by inference, that additional Slaves must have been obtained to pick the increased yield,—especially when it is considered that in the report the produce is represented in money value, and the price of cloves in 1893 was very much lower than it was in 1892.

Sir JOHN KIRK, who was for twenty years our representative and agent at Zanzibar, and who therefore speaks on the subject with greater weight and authority than any other living man, gives it as his opinion "that although the Arabs complain of being short of Slaves now, they must actually possess in the islands about three times the amount of labour they had ten years ago, when they had barely enough to pick the lesser crop."

In 1872 a hurricane destroyed the clove plantations on the Island of Zanzibar. A large number of the Slave population of that island were then shipped to Pemba, which was not seriously damaged by the cyclone, and nearly the whole of the remainder, to the coast. Many of them were

taken as far north on the coast as Lamu (a proceeding which was then legal under Treaty), from which place it was easy to sell them to the Somalis, and to Arabs who transferred them to Arabia.

In 1873 a decree, dated June 5th, was issued by the Sultan at Zanzibar, prohibiting the further importation of Slaves into the islands, in order to give effect to the Treaty obligations he had then contracted with us, which made all transport of Slaves by sea illegal ; this decree has also been confirmed by others passed in the years 1876, 1885, and 1890. Almost every Slave upon the Islands has been imported since 1873, and has therefore been introduced in violation of Treaty. The average life upon the islands, due chiefly to climatic influences, is extremely short and Slaves, as is well known, avoid having any children ; it is therefore no exaggeration to say that practically every Slave is illegally detained in a condition of bondage ; but our Governments have so far steadily refused redress, denied justice, and ignored the illegality of this state of things.

It has been said that the Slaves, once settled on estates in the islands, are comparatively well treated. We hope, in many instances, it may be so ; but the brutality of the Arab Slave-traders is notorious, and has been graphically described by Dr. LIVINGSTONE, and there is little doubt that their cruelty is a contributory cause to the high rate of mortality upon the islands. Official documents even furnish some evidence upon this point.

Up to 1889, reports from naval officers stationed off Zanzibar were published as Parliamentary Papers, and contained frequent allusions to the illtreatment meted out to the Slave population, and to the lacerated condition in which fugitive Slaves were found ; but the more recent reports, made by the Bureau Maritime at Zanzibar, established under the provisions of the Brussels Act, confirm the impression that cruelty exists upon these islands. The following is an extract taken from one of the latest reports to which we have access : "On April 22nd, 1893, Gunner JENNINGS, of H.M.S. *Philomel*, in charge of boat, landed at a small island (about a hundred yards long), some half mile from the mainland, and found sixty-five Slaves, who had been shipped from Zanzibar, and taken to the island for the purpose of transhipment. They were in charge of five Arabs, three of whom escaped, the two others wounded the interpreter, but were eventually secured. Twenty-two of these Slaves had been kidnapped at Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, and Saadani, taken to the island in canoes, where they had been for nine days, *on the last two of which they had neither food nor water.*"

Similar extracts could be multiplied, indicating the indifference to the sufferings, and the cruelty practised by the Arabs upon their Slaves.

It is well-known that the majority and the more highly valued of the Slaves sold at the coast are obtained by raids among the native tribes in our own Nyasaland Protectorate, where the demand for local free labour is steadily on the increase.

This raiding of Slaves throughout the interior of Equatorial Africa is still practised by the Arabs to an almost incredible extent.

Estimates vary considerably, as to the exact number of negroes who are annually subjected to these raids, but of the 300,000 to 500,000 who are thus raided, it is believed that not more than 10 per cent. actually reach the coast ; thus, nine out of every ten are left to perish on their long, unhealthy journey from the interior, or die as a direct result of the Slave-raid, in a manner too horrible to contemplate.

The appalling magnitude of this evil, and the frightful suffering caused is really beyond our comprehension. An anomaly is moreover created, which cannot be viewed with anything but feelings of abhorrence, viz., that our own "protected" Nyasaland subjects are raided and sold, contrary to treaty and the law of Zanzibar, to our own British "protected" Zanzibar subjects, and detained for the rest of their lives in a condition of abominable and cruel serfdom, while we pay an enormous annual sum in the futile effort of attempting to intercept the transit during the short voyage of some twenty miles across the narrow Zanzibar Channel.

What does all this mean? And how are facts like these interpreted?

The Arab is content and feels that he is incurring no risk when he can point to British connivance with a system of Slavery permitted on islands under our own direct control, and in which we are indirectly interested. All our fussiness about the Slave-trade appears to the Arab to be nothing but a transparent sham. He naturally doubts the sincerity of our intentions indicated by Statutory Decrees ; he feels encouraged to ply his nefarious traffic, and to supply a demand from which we, as a nation, derive benefit. For as receivers of revenue levied upon the exported cloves, are we not partners with the Arabs in sharing the produce obtained by Slave labour? It is not only within our power, but it is our paramount duty, to destroy the *demand* for Slaves who can be employed upon the clove plantations. Apart from humanitarian motives this should be done, if only to indicate to the native population the sincerity of our intentions, and show some consistency by our actions. Our inconsistency, as a nation, does not stop here, for Her

Majesty's ships of war are all coaled at Zanzibar entirely by Slave-labour ; women and girls, who have been smuggled in, and have evaded capture by our cruisers, being almost exclusively engaged for this purpose. It is true that these female coal-carrying Slaves receive wages, but, inasmuch as the Mohammedan law everywhere prevails, they and also their earnings are recognised as the property of their Arab masters, and they are compelled to hand over, so they themselves assert, the whole of the remuneration they earn to their owners. Surely, even at this distance, as a nation, we cannot but view such a degrading spectacle with anything but indignation.

Slave-porters are engaged, for the transport services on the mainland, by travellers, by sportsmen, by inhabitants of the Congo Free State, and by our Government, who are now directly responsible for the administration of Uganda, 700 miles inland. On these occasions a deposit, representing the capital value of the Slave, is paid over into the hand of our representative before the caravan is allowed to set out.

Again, these so-called Zanzibaris retain but a small proportion, if any, of their wages, and are merely the medium through whom the pay for their labour passes. An enactment exists, it would appear as if on purpose to secure that this shall be so, which provides that no payment to a porter shall be legal until he has returned to the islands, where he is again recognised as a Slave, and that then payment shall only be made before the Arab authorities. The late Major BARTTELOT stated that three-fourths of their pay was usually taken by their owners.

Thus the Arab Slave-master by each transaction receives deposit money, which enables him to purchase two Slaves with the money he obtains by letting out one, and is placed in a position to secure a supply to meet future demand, besides having a fund deposited with the British Consul-General to insure him from all loss. Surely comment is needless on a system such as this. But this is not all, for when Mr. STANLEY went to look for EMIN PASHA he took with him 680 men (of these 623 were Zanzibaris), 450 of whom perished during the expedition, and there is no reason to believe that these figures indicate a mortality greater than that which usually occurs from fever, disease and ill-treatment, in connection with journeys into the interior. Mr. STANLEY assumed that there are about 20,000 porters who leave the east coast for the interior every month. Words fail to accurately depict the horrors and sufferings connected with such a transport service. But even this is not all ! A decree of September 11th, 1891, confirming a former law, forbade the enlistment of porters for service outside the SULTAN'S dominions, but now, by a proclamation published in Zanzibar on the

17th of October, 1894, a fee of ten rupees is levied by the Arab Government upon each of the porters engaged at Zanzibar, and a deposit of £10 sterling a head for the first twenty-five porters engaged, and £5 for every additional porter, is lodged with the British Agent. Thus the Administration not only ignores its own decree, but actually makes profit by so doing, while our own Government Agent is made a party to the transaction and stake-holder in the full value of the Slave against the return of a porter to the power of his master ; and it is not until then, after often the lapse of upwards of a year, that even the so-called wages become legally due.

In Sir GERALD PORTAL'S book, "The Mission to Uganda," reference is made more than once to the transport system. In one passage, after referring to finding an old man wandering alone, without food or clothes, having been abandoned by a caravan leader, Sir GERALD PORTAL says that :—

"These and similar acts of ghastly cruelty, amounting almost to cold-blooded murder, are done day by day, and have been done for the last fifty years in native caravans there can be no doubt whatever ; such caravans, when once they are up-country, are free from all control ; power almost of life and death, over dozens of his fellow creatures, remains absolutely in the hands of the leader, who is perhaps a half-caste Arab ; or, perhaps, a Swahili of a class from which domestic servants or private soldiers are drawn at Zanzibar : nobody asks or cares how many men, Slaves or free, are taken or inveigled into coming as porters, and nobody knows or ascertains how many of these men ever return."

In another passage in the same work occur the following words :—

"Slowly and painfully he toils along, always getting whacked for lagging behind, his open sore becoming worse and worse until every step is an agony to him. At last comes the day when he can literally move no farther, and even the head man sees that the game is played out. If the poor fellow be near a native village, he may creep there and take his chance ; but if, as is more likely, he is in the midst of an uninhabited district, he needs do nothing more than speculate as to the way in which the end will come, whether by lion, hyæna, or starvation. The caravan goes on, his load has been added to the already heavy burdens of his companions, and nobody will ever ask what has become of him, why he was left behind, whether he was murdered, whether indeed he ever existed."

The Government have recently issued regulations to provide for proper treatment of these porter-Slaves, but it is obvious that, no matter how

carefully such regulations may be drawn up, there can be no absolute guarantee that they are obeyed and enforced ; while the initial objection remains, that the porters themselves are Slaves.

The difficulties of transport can only be surmounted by the construction of a railway, and that nation which first makes the railway will receive the commercial and political supremacy in Equatorial Africa. The present cost of transport is so high that the guaranteed interest on the cost of a railway from the coast to Lake Victoria-Nyanza, within the British sphere of influence, would probably not exceed the future annual cost, under the present method of transport service, which the Government will find it necessary to undertake. For instance, the cost of transport of a steamer leaving the Clyde in March, 1895, will be £29,000 before it reaches its destination on the lake ; this alone is nearly equivalent to half the interest on the required capital to construct a railway, which has already been surveyed at a large cost to the State, and it is an understood thing that the British contractor who engages to place the vessel on the lake will mainly have to depend for success upon the quantity of Slaves he can command.

In connection with the subject of railway construction, it is noteworthy that the Germans have commenced to make a railway within their own sphere, and are raising money at a higher rate of interest than that which could be obtained for a similar undertaking in our own British sphere, and by June, 1895, 52 kilometres of this railway will have been completed, viz., from Tanga to Usambara. There is, therefore, at present a prospect that trade will be attracted to the German Protectorate, and the German sphere developed to the detriment of our own adjacent Protectorates.

Sir GERALD PORTAL stated in his report, issued in 1894, that "to efficiently check the Slave-trade there is but one course open ; the only means of effectively doing this is by making a railway . . . the only hope of really and definitely killing the Slave-trade within a reasonable time."

But to further aggravate the position and condition of the Slaves themselves, there exists throughout the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR'S dominions, which, it should be recollected, also extend along the coast of the mainland N.W. of the islands, a decree of August 20th, 1890, which was passed without consultation with the Home Government, and which practically repealed the decree issued a fortnight before, giving to Slaves the right to purchase their own freedom.

This substituted decree of August 20th, 1890, runs as follows :—

"From SEYYID ALI BIN SAID BIN SULTAN, be it known to all men

our subjects with reference to what I wrote on the 15th El Haj (Aug. 1, 1890), and put up in the Custom House.

“If any Slave runs away from his master, or does anything wrong, punish him as before.

“If any Slave does great wrong, kills anyone or steals, send him to the Liwali, who will punish him; you will see it and be pleased.

“If any Slave brings money to the Kathi to purchase his freedom his master shall not be forced to take the money.”

The issue of such a proclamation directing an Arab to punish his Slave and preventing the Slave purchasing his freedom casts a lurid light upon the character of the Zanzibar administration.

That such a decree should remain unrepealed is nothing less than a national disgrace, and is, if not contrary to the very letter, at any rate opposed to the spirit of the Brussels Act, to which we were parties.

In their adjoining protectorate the Germans and the Imperial British East Africa Company on the mainland permit a Slave to purchase his freedom; whilst we, in the direct protection over the islands, deny to him even this privilege. It should however be remembered that Englishmen have long held that no man has a moral right to possess property in the person of a fellow human being, although the laws of certain countries have allowed it. On the mainland the condition of domestic Slavery obtains very largely; even in Egypt it is recognised, and it would be impossible to expect any government instantly to stamp out an Eastern custom which has so extensively prevailed for centuries. Some time must necessarily elapse before we can hope to see that the institution of purely domestic Slavery can be effectually effaced, especially in those large “spheres of influence” where there are no European residents. The supply of Slaves can, however, be checked, and practical steps can be taken to prevent Slave-raiding, Slave-dealing, or the legal recognition of the status of Slavery, especially where Slaves are used not as domestics, but as Slave coolies, and introduced in defiance of treaties with ourselves.

It is said that wherever Mohammedan law prevails Slavery is recognised; but in India, where there are many Mohammedan states, in Cyprus, which is still connected with Turkey, and in the Gold Coast, the legal status of Slavery has been abolished with excellent result, it has been done by giving to the whole community power to apply to the Courts to secure redress, and now no one is under any absolute legal obligation to remain with the master whom he serves.

It is suggested that by the adoption of Sections 367, 370, and 371 of the Indian Penal Code throughout the Sultan's dominions, an induce-

ment on the one hand, would be created among domestic Slave-owners to treat their Slaves well, and a gradual transition of free labour from that of forced would take place ; on the other hand, by such a policy no inducement would be presented to a Slave to leave his master, where he was well cared for.

These sections in the Indian Code run as follows :—

“SECTION 367.

“Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person, in order that such person may be subjected or may be so disposed of as to be put in danger of being subjected to grievous hurt or Slavery, or to the unnatural lust of any person, or knowing it to be likely that such person will be so subjected or disposed of, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to a fine.”

“SECTION 370.

“Whoever imports, exports, removes, buys, sells, or disposes of any person as a Slave, or accepts, receives, or detains against his will, any person as a Slave, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to a fine.”

“SECTION 371.

“Whoever habitually imports, exports, removes, buys, sells, trafficks or deals in Slaves, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to a fine.”

We cannot expect immediately to destroy the demand for Slaves in such countries as Morocco and Persia, but by systematic action in consort with other signatory Powers to the Brussels Act, we may make it very difficult for such demand to be met by a supply, and in this both Turkey and Persia, as signatories of the Brussels Act, are bound to give every assistance.

At Hodeidah, on the Red Sea, there has been established a eunuch factory, the existence of which is, of course, officially denied, but a combined protest ought to be made and the continuance of such horrible and revolting operations such as are practised there, could be and should be prohibited and made impossible.

It is anticipated in official quarters, that in the event of the emancipation of the Slaves on the Islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, a considerable temporary deficiency of State revenue would immediately result.

The House of Commons, in the debate of March 8th, 1895, however, made it clear that there would be no hesitation in voting any sum which would be necessary to meet any such deficit, provided that Slavery were abolished, either on the Indian plan, or in any other thoroughly satisfactory and radical manner.

It may be pointed out that if the Slaves upon the Islands were emancipated not only would the sum of £3,500 to £4,000, which is now annually voted by Parliament—for the maintenance and conveyance of Slaves, and bounties paid to the members of the crews who succeed in the interception of human contraband—be saved, but also the present cost of maintaining so large a fleet as is now stationed in the Zanzibar waters would no longer be necessary.

Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, in reply to a question on the 24th of April, 1894, stated that "If the Slave-trade were to come to an end, the duties thrown on Her Majesty's ships off the East Coast would be somewhat reduced much in the same way as the abolition of the Slave-trade on the West Coast led to fresh reductions of labour and cost ; moreover, the money now spent would be saved." It is estimated that a saving of from £100,000 to £200,000 per annum would be thereby effected—more than enough to guarantee the construction of the Uganda Railway, and to recoup any deficit in the Zanzibar State revenue. It should also be borne in mind that in Cuba, in Nyasaland, and other countries wherein forced labour has been superseded by free, not only has the production been materially increased, but also the results have been happier than were ever anticipated ; experience also goes to show that Slave and free labour can never even be expected to thrive side by side.

On the mainland already the Imperial British East African Company is inundated with offers of free labour, and there is every reason to believe that the population on the mainland, who now are afraid to put foot on the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, would be attracted if the institution of Slavery were abolished. There is little doubt if the Sultanate were also abolished, and the present Sultan, HAMED, pensioned, that not only many economies might also be effected in the administration, but new sources of revenue opened up by the abrogation of existing commercial treaties, which now bar the way to all ordinary taxation. The seat of government undoubtedly should be at Mombasa on the mainland, where, in addition to many other obvious advantages, a good natural harbour exists, rather than at Zanzibar, on an island twenty miles from the coast, where there is no harbour, but a good anchorage being its solitary recommendation.

There is no hereditary succession to the throne at Zanzibar, and in making the last four appointments to the Sultanate, viz. : BARGASH, in 1870 ; KHALIFA, 1888 ; ALI, 1890, and HAMED, 1893—the claims of the nearest blood relation were ignored, and all the Sultans seem to have been selected with a view to their pliability in the hands of the resident Prime Minister, or our Agent-General, both of whom are now Englishmen and are responsible to the Home Government ; therefore, in making the above suggestion to abolish the Sultanate and pension the present Sultan, no real hardship would be created.

The policy advocated above is one to which several authorities well acquainted with the affairs in East Africa have given their adhesion. These authorities assert it is a practical policy, and one that can be adopted, and that there are no insuperable objections or difficulties in its way. Obviously, however, the tendency on the part of those officials now resident at Zanzibar, must be to look unfavourably on any change in the *status quo*.

The present *official* Anti-Slavery policy in the interior is mainly directed at checking Slave-raiding, and whilst it undoubtedly has to a limited extent succeeded, yet it has been accompanied by a policy at the coast proved to be an absolute and dismal failure, in so far as the prohibition or approximate prevention of the exportation of Slaves has been concerned, and by a policy on the islands which has left an open market, which stimulates in turn an exportation of Slaves, which can again only be fed by Slave-raiding. So long, therefore, as we permit the demand to continue, what wonder is it that our policy in the interior and at the coast proves futile, and that our large expenditure in endeavouring to put down the Slave-trade is wasted ?

It is stated on the highest authority that only about one in twenty or thirty of the Slaves exported from the mainland are actually seized and liberated by Her Majesty's ships, and thus escape being smuggled into the islands. Obviously every one in the islands is, both directly and indirectly interested in the cheapness and abundance of labour, and the difficulties placed in the way of the adoption of an Anti-Slavery policy by some of those responsible for the Sultan's Administration, have no doubt contributed to the delay of the Home Government in bringing about a better and less discreditable state of affairs in these British possessions. The task of the British war vessels has been made additionally difficult by the French, who refuse to ratify the Brussels Act in full, and so withhold from the other signatory Powers the same right of search of vessels suspected of Slave-trading when flying the

French flag, as the other Powers exercise unrestrained among one another. The Articles in the Brussels Act which have special reference to this subject are as follows:—

“ARTICLE XXV.

“The Signatory Powers undertake to adopt effective measures for preventing usurpation of their flag, and for preventing the transport of Slaves on vessels authorised to fly their colours.”

“ARTICLE XLII.

“When the officers in command of war vessels (*bâtiments de guerre*) of any of the signatory Powers have reason to believe that a vessel of tonnage less than 500 tons and found navigating in the above indicated zone takes part in the Slave-trade, or is guilty of the fraudulent use of a flag, they may proceed to the verification of the ship’s papers.”

Beyond this mere verification of papers, the French allow no further act on board a vessel carrying the French flag by a foreign naval officer.

The Arabs are not slow to take advantage of the immunity against search, thus secured to them by the conduct of the French Government.

There is one other matter relating to that which has been apparent official indifference to Slavery, for which we are even more directly responsible than we are for the continuance of that which we found existing in Zanzibar and Pemba, viz., the reimposition of the status of Slavery in the Protectorate of Witu. We must always recollect the status of Slavery directly promotes the very Slave-raiding against which any official action has been hitherto chiefly directed. This province of Witu never belonged to Zanzibar, but was transferred direct to H.M. the Queen by the Emperor of Germany in 1890. It was arranged, when this new British Protectorate was taken over, by the consent of the native chiefs, that the status of Slavery was to be then abolished, and that all Slaves should be liberated on or before the 24th of May, 1896. This law was duly published and was the accepted act of the people of Witu, and fully recognised by the Imperial British East Africa Company, whose charter included the administration of this district, and who took steps to see that the arrangement should be carried out. Additional pressure was also placed upon the Company in 1892, by Lord ROSEBERY, then Foreign Secretary, to secure this object. When, however, in 1893 this territory was handed back to the direct control of H.M. Government, the British administration at Zanzibar was called upon to administer the district by Mohammedan law and in the Sultan’s name. Slavery was thereupon re-enacted, and the Slaves secured to their masters and their descendants in succession.

Though doubtless the Home Government found difficulties existed in securing a satisfactory local administration, yet that we, after having put pressure upon the I.B.E.A. Company to put down Slavery, should have subsequently legalised it ourselves throughout this province of Witu, seriously reflects upon us as a nation, and there can be no sufficient justification for such a course.

To the credit of the present Government be it said, that the question of atrocities in Armenia has recently been taken up, and Great Britain has indicated her approval of such action, but how inconsistent are we when we thus show ourselves properly sensitive at cruelty, and atrocities, perpetrated in foreign countries, whilst we have shewn ourselves indifferent and callous to the illtreatment of those who have for years been entitled to protection in our own possessions, and whose sufferings in bulk far outweigh those abominable atrocities practised upon the Armenian Christians.

Mr. Lecky, the historian, has stated :—"Our unwearied, unostentatious and inglorious crusade against Slavery in the past is classed amongst the three or four perfectly virtuous acts recorded in the history of nations."—(*Vide* "History of Morals." Vol. I., p. 100.)

To-day there is probably more Slavery, for which we are to a large extent responsible, in our Protectorates than we have at any time known in our colonies in the West Indies, and if we are to justify such a tribute, we ought to be once more up and doing.

Lord ROSEBURY recently wrote :—"Great Britain's future renown in history will be her heroic and self-denying exertions to destroy this iniquitous Slave-trade."

May it be so, and may our future actions prove to be more consistent with our boasted traditions and that moral policy of which the Prime Minister said only two years ago England was so justly proud.

ANY who desire to promote the Anti-Slavery cause are recommended :—

- (a.) To direct the attention of their Parliamentary representative to the subject dealt with in this pamphlet, and to request him to see that the pledges given by

the Government on March 8th, 1895, are satisfactorily, promptly, and effectively carried out.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said—

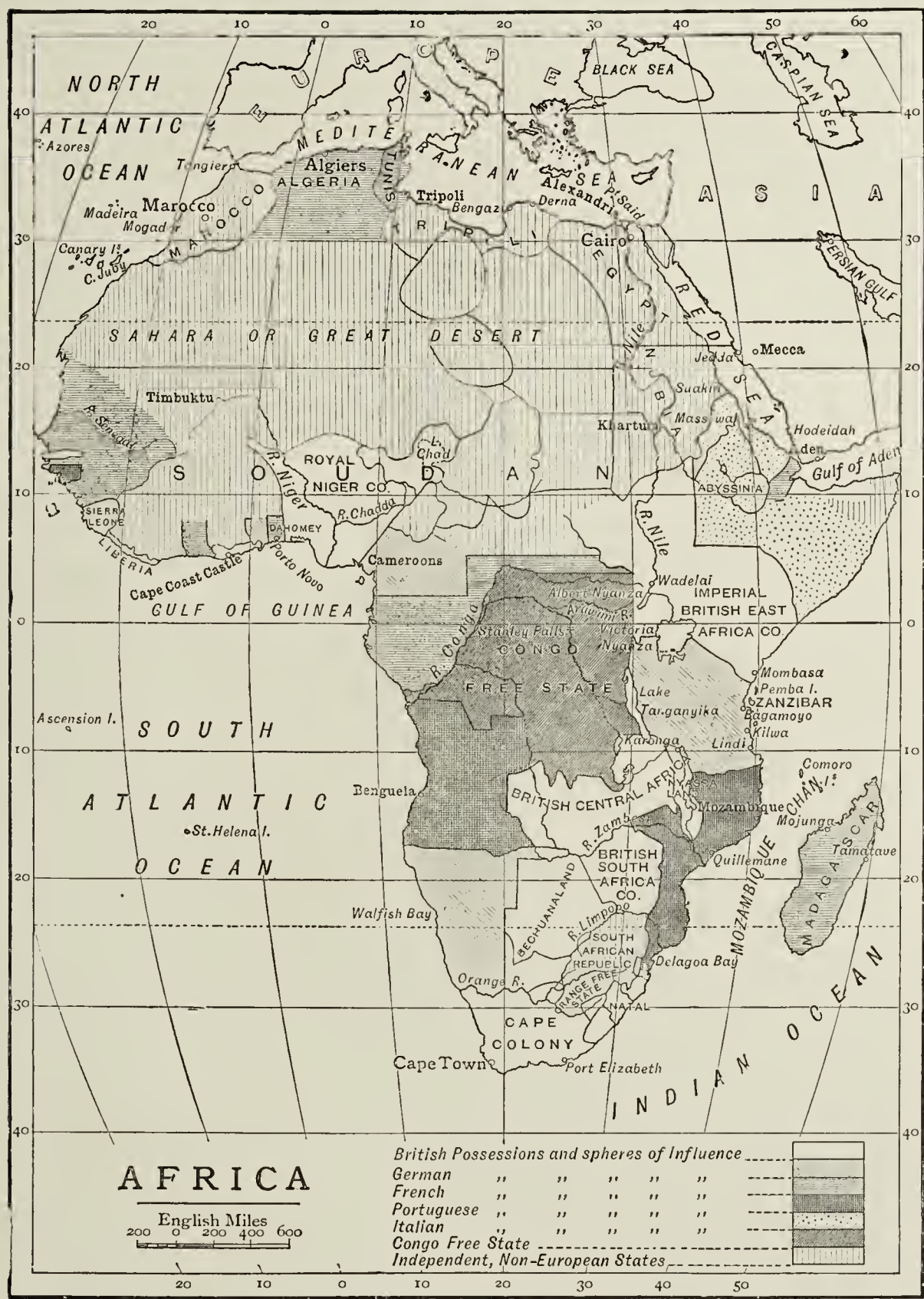
“Every measure that is possible shall be taken for the purpose of putting down Slavery.”

“All I can say, on behalf of the Government, is, that they accept the view *that it is the duty of the Government to use their exertions at the earliest possible moment to put an end to Slavery, both in Zanzibar and elsewhere.*”

Sir EDWARD GREY stated—

“Before the Session began the Government sent out instructions to the British representatives on the spot to report as to what steps it should be best to take to bring the system of Slavery referred to, to an end. Obviously, until that report was received, he could not pledge the Government to take any *particular* steps. *But the thing had got to be done*, and the Government had asked for a report from those best able to judge as to the best means of doing it.”

- (b.) At the next General Election to press all Parliamentary candidates to support the Abolition of Slavery in British Protectorates.
- (c.) Donations or Subscriptions in aid of the movement may be sent to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.



MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

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